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# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

## POLITICS of *France*,

With regard to the  
Present critical Situation of Affairs.

WHEREIN

The following Proposition, viz. *That the true Interest of GREAT BRITAIN must always consist in opposing the Designs, and restraining the Influence of that ambitious Power, is from Facts, as well as Arguments, clearly demonstrated.*

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*Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.*

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L O N D O N :

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# P R E F A C E.

*THE Publick must be sensible, that when this Proposition was first advanced in a late celebrated Pamphlet, it was treated by all who undertook to answer it, as an idle and groundless Notion, calculated entirely to serve a present Purpose, and to mislead the Minds of Men into a fixed and riveted Hatred against a Nation which had been heretofore, and by a Change of Circumstances might become again, our Friends. But as I was convinced upon a strict and close Examination, that this Proposition was not only true, but the only proper Basis of British Policy, I thought a more effectual Service could not be done to this Nation, than to set it in such a Light, as that it may no longer be disputed.*

*I must confess the Impression made upon the Minds of most People by the News of a French Invasion, induced me to think that*



## P R E F A C E.

*a properer Time could not well offer for the bringing abroad such a Treatise, because the Prejudices that many had entertained against the Doctrine I labour to establish, were by that in a great Measure removed, and they were consequently left cool enough to consider fairly what could be said on the Subject. As I am very sensible that in Addresses to the Publick, much will always depend upon timing Things rightly, so I flatter myself, that when the following Pages are perused with Candor and Attention, it will be allowed that I have offered every Kind of Proof that can be expected in a Case of this Nature.*

*We ought certainly to provide vigorously against the immediate Danger with which we are at present threatned by French Designs; but this will be doing little, if, when the Danger is over by the Disappointment of their present Designs, we become negligent, and forget what it is our Duty always to remember, that we can never be safe while France is powerful, never be secure in the Possession of our Liberties*  
and



## P R E F A C E.

*and Properties, if we are not in a Condition to prevent any Projects she can form for the Subversion of both. If the French are always watchful, and nothing can awake us but the Report of an Invasion, she must sooner or later succeed in her Schemes, and we shall be surprized not so much by the Superiority of her Force, as by the Misapplication of our own.*

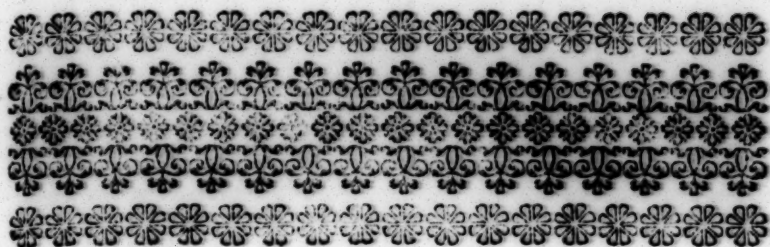
*The making all these Points as evident as their Importance requires, is the Business of this Treatise; and if the Reception afforded it by the Publick shall encourage me, as I doubt not it will, to prosecute my Design, I propose shortly to compare our own Strength with that of our Enemy; and by examining the natural Strength, constant Revenues, and real Force of Great Britain and France, to make it perfectly clear, that nothing but our own Inactivity, or rather Divisions among ourselves, can hinder us from being always a Match for that restless and ambitious Power, or from holding the Ballance of Europe, which is at once*  
*our*

## P R E F A C E.

*our Right, and ought to be the great and constant End of our Policy.*

*The Liberty we enjoy of thinking freely, and of expressing as freely what we think, ought surely to enable us to write with as much Spirit and Judgment on Topicks of such general Concern, as the Creatures of the Court of France do in Support of her favourite System. We see daily Instances of the latter encouraged, rewarded, and dispersed with the greatest Industry by her Ministers; and I have made this Attempt to shew that the former is not impracticable. How far I shall succeed, depends upon the Disposition of my Readers, upon their being more heartily concerned for their Country's Interest, than for that of a Party, upon their having a moderate Proportion of that publick Spirit to which we so generally and loudly pretend, and upon their being in earnest resolved to support and maintain that Plan of Government by which their Constitution has been fixed, their Liberties secured, and their Commerce extended.*

C O N S I-



# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

POLITICS of *France*.



HERE is certainly nothing of greater Importance to any Nation, than to be thoroughly informed of the Scheme of Policy pursued, the Forces, Revenue, Naval Power, and Foreign Alliances constituting the Strength of that People, which the Bent of their Interests point out as their natural Enemies; the Truth of which is confirmed by History and Experience.

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perience. *Plutarch* has compared human Life to a Game at Draughts; but without Question this Simile may better be transferred to human Policy, in which none will ever succeed, who does not study his Adversaries Game at least as much as his own.

That *France* is naturally the Enemy of *Britain*, in a strict and philosophical Sense, is what I do not believe; but that she is so in a political Consideration, I am thoroughly satisfied. Her Interests have been always incompatible with ours, from the Time of the *Norman Conquest*, whence this Opposition seems to have sprung. An Opposition that has cost both Nations dear; for if we in our Turns have often conquer'd them, they have sufficiently perplexed us in theirs; and I think it would be no difficult Thing to demonstrate, that if it had not been for our Disputes with *France*, and the political Arts by which she continually thwarted us, we had been many Centuries ago the most considerable Nation in *Europe*, and the natural Arbiters of every Difference amongst its Princes.

But without searching into remote or abstruse Causes, in order to discover whence this Antipathy arises, let us consider

sider Things in their present State, and we shall plainly discern that there is a real, constant, and uniform Opposition between the Interest of these two Nations; whence it follows, that we cannot be charged with violating the Law of Nations, or the Rules of Speech, when we say that *France* is our natural Enemy, because, as I shall make it plain, she cannot be our Friend without changing all the Maxims of her Government; which, as I observed before, is in a political Sense changing her very Nature.

This is a Point that has been often and earnestly disputed, and indeed if we consider its Importance, we need not wonder at it; for being a principal Point in the Politics of *Britain*, bad Consequences must have naturally flowed from every Mistake made about it; and these bad Consequences making strong Impressions on the Minds of all thinking People, led them by Degrees up to the Source, and hence it came to pass that this Question was so often started, so warmly agitated, and yet never clearly decided. To account for this last Circumstance, we need only reflect that it has been our Misfortune to be almost continually divided into Parties, which besides their

Proneness to differ about all Things, were frequently biaſſed in their Thoughts upon this Subject, by peculiar Diſtaſtes or peculiar Obligations to *France*. The Party more immediately intereſted in an Oppoſition to *French* Measures, ſometimes mingled their private Concerns with thoſe of the Nation, which gave an Air of Partiality to their Arguments, whereas the Party which received Helps from *France*, were ſo much miſled by this Circumſtance, as actually to miſtake their own Intereſts for thoſe of the Nation, imagining that what was beneficial to the one, could not be detrimental to the other.

Theſe Things premiſed, I proceed, without further Introduction, to the Cauſes of this natural Enmity or Oppoſition. In the firſt Place Religion is to be conſidered; and though I believe it may be true, that both here and in *France*, there is much of the Spirit of Enthuſiaſm evaporated, yet this is in a great measure ballanced by the Introduction of political Conſiderations. We eſteem ourſelves, and are eſteemed by the reſt of *Europe*, as being at the Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, whereas the People in *France* are not only Papiſts, but it has been long the peculiar Policy  
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of the Court of *France* to place itself at the Head of the Popish Interest. This is the first Cause of Opposition, and a stronger I think there cannot well be. The several Powers of *Europe*, that are more influenced by religious Principles than perhaps either of those that I have mentioned, find themselves obliged to unite closely with their Heads, though they may possibly distinguish a great Mixture of secular Wisdom in their Conduct of religious Concerns. For it is the same thing amongst States as amongst private Persons, such as are most capable of promoting an Interest, will be always set at the Head of it, how repugnant soever their Motives may be to those upon which their Followers act. The League in *France* did not set the Duke of *Guise* at their Head, because they esteemed him the most pious or firmest Catholic in the Kingdom, but because he was in other Respects the fittest Man to be their Chief; and here in *England*, about the same Time, or a very little later, the Puritans made their court to the Earl of *Leicester*, tho' he was a Man no way remarkable for the Soundness of his Morals. It is sufficient that religious Interests have a great  
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Stroke in the Conduct of human Affairs, and that *Britain* and *France* are opposite in their Notions upon this Subject. This, I say, is sufficient for my Purpose, and here therefore I leave it.

A second Cause of Enmity is the diametrical Opposition between our Governments. The *French* King values himself on being the most absolute Prince in *Europe*; the *British* Monarch places his Grandeur in being the Sovereign of a free People. The *French* Nation, again, are proud of their slavish Submission to their Prince, and pique themselves on making him formidable to all his Neighbours; the People of *Britain* glory in their extensive Liberty, and in a generous Disposition to support the Freedom and Independency of other Nations. Whoever therefore considers the Repugnancy of these Principles in themselves, the Prejudices they must naturally inspire in each Party against the other, and the Consequences of both these in their Negotiations with other States; I say, whoever considers these with sufficient Capacity, and sufficient Attention, cannot fail of perceiving that they must create not only a perpetual Clashing, and a constant Spirit of Opposition,

sition, but at the same Time excite such an Ardor in both, as must prevent this Spirit from either sinking or subsiding. For it is plain, that in order to this, one Government or the other must change its Nature. Now that the *French* Monarch should ever part with his Power, or the *French* People change their Desire of humbling their Neighbours, into a Passion for being themselves free, is, I think, not over probable; and that either the King of *England* should be able to compass arbitrary Dominion by Force or Fraud, or his Subjects tamely give up their Liberties, in order to aggrandize their Master, is an Event, morally speaking, impossible. I conclude therefore, that this is not only a very strong, but a very lasting Ground also of an eager and spirited Opposition, which must affect their Neighbours, at least in every critical Conjunction, almost as much as themselves.

The last great Cause I shall mention, is that of Commerce; for as the old Saying is generally found true, that two of a Trade can seldom agree, so in respect of Nations, they cannot long accord where the Nature of their Commerce is such, as that they cannot reciprocally gain by each other,



other, but the Loss of the one must constantly and necessarily redound to the Profit of the other. I will explain this by an Instance. The *Spaniards* draw their Silver from *America*, by furnishing such as are settled there with *European* Commodities and Manufactures, most of which are not of their own Growth. If therefore we afford the *Spaniards* these Commodities and Manufactures upon reasonable Terms, it is plain, that as we gain by them, they gain by us from the profitable Returns made to them by their *Indies*. Again, the *Dutch* lose to us a very large Sum of Money annually upon the Ballance of Trade, but they draw a much larger Ballance to themselves by the Sale of our Goods and Manufactures in *Germany* and the North, so that we are Gainers by each other upon the whole. But this is not the Case with *France*, she prohibits our Manufactures in order to encourage her own; we, on the other hand, lay heavy Duties on her Commodities, because few or none of them are necessary, and she takes little or nothing of ours in return. In the *Levant*, in the *East*, and *West Indies*, we are continually Rivals, and whatever one gains is at the Expence of the other;  
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the Consequence of this is plain, especially with regard to us who are a trading Nation, that is, a Nation owing our Wealth, our Freedom, and our Power to the Industry of our People at home, and to the extensive Commerce which this enables us to carry on abroad. Upon this Head therefore we can never come to any Agreement, unless *France* relinquishes her Scheme of Trade, or we consent to give up ours; neither of which, I think, will ever be done; and therefore I presume on this, as well as on the former Head, we are like to continue in constant Opposition.

After this Explication of the Causes of our natural Enmity, I think it may not be amiss to explain some Points that seem at first sight irreconcilable to these Notions. For Instance, it may appear a little odd that *France*, being at the Head of what is called the Catholic Interest, should have so great Weight in the North, where, except *Poland*, there is not so much as one Catholic Power; or on the other hand, that *Great Britain* should be so warmly engaged in the Support of the House of *Austria* and the King of *Sardinia*, though both Catholic Princes. To account for this, we are to

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consider that the Politicks of *Europe* for this last Century have been, generally speaking, governed by the different Ballances necessary in different Parts; for Example, in the North, where if any one of the three great Powers should grow too strong for its Neighbours, an Empire must from thence arise dangerous to the rest of *Europe*. To prevent this is the Care of the Maritime Powers, whereas the Policy of *France* is to cherish one or other of these Potentates with the flattering Hopes of universal Dominion. The Reason of which is, that *France* cannot subsist without the Assistance of a Northern Ally; and as Courts, like Men, have their Prejudices and their Particularities, *France* seldom fails of drawing one or other of these Powers to assist in furthering her Projects, which she is sure to pursue so long as they benefit her, and not a Step beyond. In *Germany* and in *Italy*, a Ballance is as necessary as in the North, but the *French* from political Reasons being always engaged in Projects directly opposite to this Ballance, the Powers that would be oppressed by such a Change, naturally fly to our Assistance, though of a different Faith. Upon the whole therefore, where  
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the Ambition of *France* engages her to trespass on the civil Rights of her Neighbours, we by pursuing contrary Principles have them for our Friends.

Again, it is pretended that the slavish Disposition which is usually attributed to the *French*, is rather grounded in Prejudice than on Facts; and for this many plausible Arguments are offered, all flowing from this Maxim, that to say a thinking People can love Slavery is an Absurdity. In pure Speculation something of this Sort may arise, but we are now talking of Facts, and therefore if the *French* act in every Respect as if they were in love with Slavery, and as if the great Point in View with them was to enslave their Neighbours, it matters not at all to us, whether this flows from a Disposition prone to Slavery, or from the Arts practised upon them by their Governors. For the Sake of Truth however, and that what has hitherto been said may not look like the Effects of Aversion to the *French* Nation, I am content to examine this Matter to the Bottom, in order to trace out, if it be possible, whence this Humour of theirs really springs.

In the first Place, I cannot help taking Notice that there is a Quickness, Likeness and Propensity to Intrigue inherent to that Nation, which made the Bulk of them in all Ages the absolute Fools of those who had the Command of them, and for this Reason, while the Nobility of *France* enjoyed that Share of Honour and Authority which originally belonged to them, the Kings of *France* were, generally speaking, the most circumscribed in their Power, and uneasy in their Circumstances of any Princes in *Europe*. There was no such Thing as either Loyalty or Patriotism amongst them. A great Lord sided with the Court if he was gratified, and took up Arms against it if he was not. If in such Disputes as these the Crown was strong enough to get the better, then such as had disputed its Orders were punished, but if it fell out otherwise, the King changed his Ministers and his Measures, and the Rebel of to-Day became the Ruler to-morrow.

The Disadvantages arising from such an unsettled Situation of Things, as they were too glaring to escape Observation, so they were too strongly supported by the old Constitution to admit of Correction,  
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at least for any long Continuance, for though the Evil might be sometimes pretty well got under, yet in time it grew uppermost again. At last *Lewis XIII.* projected an absolute Remedy; he made choice of an Ecclesiastick for his Minister, whose boundless Ambition could be gratified no other Way than by extending the Royal Authority. The King was wise enough to know what to aim at, though he had not Compass of thought enough to contrive a Scheme capable of bringing about the End he proposed, he therefore left this entirely to his Minister whom he supported, without loving, and esteemed at the same time that he feared him. This haughty Priest finding himself hated by the Royal Family, and envied by the Nobility, resolv'd to support himself by the encrease of the Prerogative of the Crown, and giving a new Turn to the Genius of the People. It was wonderful that a single Man should form so daring a Project, and yet much more wonderful that he should succeed. But by a prudent Distribution of Rewards and Punishments, by encouraging Arts and Sciences, and promoting Commerce, he drew the middle Sort of People to adhere steadily to the Crown,  
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in Consequence of the Advantages derived to them from its Grants, which they never could hope for by supporting any of the *Grandeess*. This Scheme *Richlieu* delivered over to his Successor *Mazarine*, to whom *Lewis XIV.* become a Pupil and under him received those Maxims of Government which he pursued through his long Reign, in which Period of Time both the Government and the Nation were new moulded.

In spite however of these Changes, the *French* Nation in general retained still that ungovernable Vivacity for which, as their own Writers say, they have been in all Ages distinguished. In order therefore to divert this Disposition from domestick Intrigues, and intestine Broils, the last Series of *French* Ministers have introduced a kind of regular System, the Scope of which is the Direction in some sort or other of all *Europe*; this at once flatters the Vanity, and employs the Talents of the whole Nation. The Nobility, after serving a kind of Apprenticeship in the Army, are either sent abroad on Embassies, or preferred to Governments; the principal Ecclesiasticks are admitted into the chief Offices of the State, and frequently raised to the high Dignity

Dignity of Princes of the Church ; the People are dazzled with the Glory of their Sovereign, and this, though they live meaner, gives them a much more chearful Air than many of their Neighbours. As for the Trade of *France*, it's absolutely an artificial Thing, at first produced by the Skill of *Richlieu*, and afterwards brought to a surprizing Height by the Care and Attention of *Colbert*, who really knew more of the Matter than all the Merchants of that time. But as the Commerce of *France* is a Creature of the State, so those who carry it on remain in constant Dependence upon the Administration ; and that which in every other Country inspires a Notion of Freedom, produces a quite contrary Effect here, and this for the Reason I have already assigned, *viz.* That Trade is the Growth of other Countries, whereas *Richlieu* had the Honour of transplanting it into *France*, where it is cherished by the Laws, whereas in most other Countries it is hurt by them : This is a true and impartial Account of the Matter, and the more a Man enquires into it, the more I am persuaded he will be satisfied with it.

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It must be obvious to a judicious Reader, that this Pursuit of a settled Plan has been very advantageous to the *French* Ministers; for whereas other Statesmen have been forced to strike out Systems of their own, in which they were sure to meet with Opposition, and seldom have enjoyed Power long enough to bring them to Perfection, these Ministers have gone on in a beaten Track, and since the Time of *Mazarine*, have, comparatively speaking, never had any Thing to struggle with at home, but have been left at full liberty to perfect the several Branches of *Ricklieu's* Project, sometimes by carrying on foreign Wars, at others by managing pacifick Negotiations. It is true that this System has been prosecuted with more or less Ardor, with a smaller or greater Degree of Success, according to the Circumstances of the Times in which they lived, or the Abilities of particular Ministers; but still it has been prosecuted, and in all Probability will be prosecuted so long as the *French* Monarchy shall continue to subsist.

The late Regent *Philip* of *Orleans* was, take him throughout, the greatest Genius *France* could ever boast. He was an excellent Officer, a consummate Statesman,



man, and a most accomplished Prince. Vices he had, and great ones, but they were such as contributed rather to heighten than lessen his Grandeur, inasmuch as they procured him Creatures fit for all his Purposes, infomuch that it is to this Day a Doubt whether Cardinal *du Bois* served him most adroitly as a Minister or as a Pimp. He was a perfect Judge of Mankind, and never employed any Instrument, but in the Way for which he was best qualified, of which he gave the strongest Instance when he put Marshal *Berwick* at the Head of the Army that was to act against the present King of *Spain*. He knew him to be a mere Soldier of Fortune, and was sensible that he would stick at nothing that contributed to make his Fortune; and the same Judgment he shew'd in every other Choice.

Two Things were remarkable in his Administration, and ought to be considered as the Master-Strokes of his Politics; the first was his stipulating so good Terms for *Spain* by the Quadruple Alliance, in which he fairly out-witted all the contracting Parties, and procured that Settlement for the Queen of *Spain's* Children in *Italy*, which never could have been

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procured any other Way, and which proves that he was really intent on aggrandizing that Branch of the *Bourbon* Family, while his Allies believed him wholly bent on humbling it. This shews how narrowly we ought to watch all the Negotiations of *France*, since by this Instance we see that she is able to raise herself most effectually, when she seems to be content to be oppressed by a feigned Humility. The other great Work of his Ministry was the *Mississippi* Scheme, which however it hurt the People, certainly set the Government at Liberty; and thus by owning the Consequences of the late War, by magnifying the Misfortunes of *France* by adhering to his Treaties with us, and seeming to desert the old System, he provided such a Strength as would have enabled him to resume it effectually whenever he thought proper, and yet he performed all this with such Address, that we still look upon him as the best Friend we ever had in *France*, though, except his baffling the Rebellion in *Scotland*, after he saw no Good could be done by it, it will be hard to point out any one Act of his Life that could be fairly construed an Argument of his having a Respect for *Britain*. It was not  
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in truth to be hoped for; and if any of our Ministers suffered themselves to be deceived by specious Appearances, it was their Fault; the Regent had a Right to make use of his superior Abilities, and to over-reach them in their own Trade: But it does not follow that we are to be no wiser than they, or that we should suffer ourselves to expect some *French* Minister may be our Friend, from a Belief that the Regent was in fact so.

The Duke of *Bourbon's* short Ministry did not afford much room for perfecting the grand Scheme of *France*, yet without doing Injustice to his Memory, it cannot be denied that he shew'd his Goodwill to it by the remarkable Breach with the Court of *Spain*, sending back the Infanta, and marrying the young King to the Daughter of *Stanislaus*; this he thought necessary for setting *France* still more at liberty; for if the King had remained unmarried till his Cousin the present Princess of *Portugal* had grown up, the *French* Nation must have been tied down all that Time to their good Behaviour, and must have kept as strictly within the Bounds of Treaties, as they had done for some Years before. From this Restriction the Duke of *Bourbon*



freed them ; and if he could have found any Opportunity of acting vigorously, he would have no doubt embraced it, at least this was suggested by his Successor, who charged him with having ambitious Views, as he valued himself much on his Moderation, and settled Resolution to restore the Credit of *French* Faith. One thing very extraordinary happened here upon the Death of the Regent, and the Duke of *Bourbon's* coming into the Administration, which was that our Stocks fell immediately, some of them above 10 *per Cent.* which is a strong Indication, that all thinking People are under the highest Apprehensions when any Thing of Consequence depends upon the Honesty of a *French* Minister. I must confess, that as soon as it was known the Duke of *Bourbon* would act upon the same Plan, our Stocks rose again, but then I have already shewn upon how slight a Foundation.

The late Cardinal *de Fleury*, who supplanted this Prince of the Blood, and governed *France* for many Years as absolutely as ever the Regent had done, was a Man seemingly of slow Parts, and certainly no great Genius, but the most finished Hypocrite breathing, and one who

who was Master of the deepest Cunning This appears clearly from the truly excellent History of his Life and Administration, lately published in our own Language, written with great Penetration and absolute Impartiality. But as the Author of that Life was not acquainted with a particular Circumstance relating to the Rise of this great Man, which is come to my Knowledge, I think I cannot do better than give it to the Reader, in order to justify the Character given of him, both by that Writer and myself, which it will most effectually do, since the Truth of the Fact is known to every Person of Distinction in *France*.

The Courtiers who were deservedly jealous of the Artifices of Abbé *Fleury*, contrived to get him fairly out of the Way, by sending him to the Bishoprick of *Frejus*, which was indeed none of the most comfortable Places for a Man of his Temper to pass his Time in, being a little Port at the very Extremity of *Provence*, where there is not either Commerce or Company. The Bishop having considered the Case attentively, and perceiving by the Answers he received from his Friend, that there was no Hopes of  
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being delivered in the Way that he could wish, he resolved at all Events to get from thence some way or other, and at last resigned his Bishoprick. But to cover this, he pretended to Act from no other Motive than a very deep Sense of his own Unworthiness, and to impose this effectually on the World, he wrote a kind of Pastoral Letter addressed to his dear Flock, representing, in pathetic Terms, his Incapacity for so great a Charge, owning that he accepted the Episcopal Dignity in a Method, and from Views no way agreeable to Christian Purity, beseeching his beloved People to forgive him the ill Example he had set them in many Respects, and taking his final Leave of them in a most tender manner.

Such was the Humility of this great Man, who in the Strength and Vigour of his Age confessed to all the World his want of Abilities to govern a Diocess in which there was not above twenty Parishes, and yet submitting in his decrepid old Age to assume the Government of a powerful Kingdom, which he tenaciously held to the last Gasps. This Pastoral Letter of his, or rather Demisory Mandate, for that I think is its true Title, is yet in being, and  
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an Attempt was made soon after his Death to publish it at *Paris*, but the Court interposed, and it was suppressed.

This Man, from his first Entrance on the Government, shewed an astonishing Vanity, as well as the strongest Resolution, to support the good old System. He drew together a Congress of the principal Ministers in *Europe* at *Soissons*, where they did nothing but admire the Wisdom of the Cardinal, as he no doubt did their Folly, who could come so far, and at such an Expence, to do what in the Nature of things could not be done; and therefore at last they separated without bringing any thing to their own Knowledge or the World's, except that Negotiations might as well be carried on in any other Place, to the eternal Dishonour of those who had taken the Pains to make this Journey, upon the Faith of the Cardinal *de Fleury's* Promises.

That Minister however had his End in it, it raised the Credit of *France* over all *Europe*, at the same time that it highly exalted his Character, and actually fixed him at once in the Reputation of being a very able and a very upright Minister; to preserve this, and by preserving it, to establish the Influence of *France* in a supreme degree, was the Cardinal's great View for many Years, in which he succeeded to an  
astonishing

astonishing Degree, since there was hardly a Court in *Europe*, where, at some Times, his Power was not almost as great as in that of *Versailles*. To him foreign Ministers did not only apply for the Dispatch of Business, but, which is very extraordinary, interested themselves in the Support of his Power, and consulted him upon their Domestic Affairs. By this Means he knew with greater Certainty than ever any *French* Minister did, the true State of all Countries, but particularly of this, where, as he was bound in Gratitude, he interposed on a critical Occasion in favour of our then mighty Minister, and gave us to understand, that upon his continuing in Power, depended our living upon good Terms with his Pupil the *French* King. Yet after all this, when the Circumstances of the Times afforded him an Opportunity, he shewed plainly that he adhered to the old System, and that the aggrandizing of *France* to such a Degree as to give Law to *Europe*, was the main Point he had in View in the midst of all his Pretences to Moderation.

When he began his Intrigues in *Poland* in favour of *Stanislaus*, he departed at once from that Integrity, the Reputation of which he had so long laboured to establish.

blish. For not to mention the Methods he made use of to corrupt the Nobility of *Poland*, it was manifest that he meant least what he pretended to mean, and exposed the Person of that gallant old Prince, the Father of the Queen his Mistress, in the most scandalous Manner, with no other View than to obtain a Colour for making some Acquisition to *France*. Notwithstanding the repeated Declaration he had made in his Master's Name, that nothing should be annexed to his Dominions in Consequence of that War to which the Pretensions of King *Stanislaus* gave Birth. The same Spirit of Fraud appeared in his Transactions with the King of *Sardinia*, whom he seduced into an Alliance by Promises he never meant to perform: And as the whole of that War was managed by his Direction, so it concluded as it began, in deceiving every body's Expectations but his own, and to the Advantage of no one Power in *Europe*, *France* only excepted, which by the Peace acquired the Possession of *Lorraine* in lieu of a Country to which she never formed the least Pretensions. Such was the Justice, such the Honour, such the Moderation of that Minister, on

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whom



whom the Maritime Powers relied so much!

But to demonstrate the true Scope of this Minister's Designs, we ought to consider, that when he treated with the late Emperor about the last Peace, he was remarkably careful in soothing that Prince's particular Foible, which was an extraordinary Zeal for the Catholic Cause. I will not take Notice upon this Occasion of what was publickly said at *Paris* as to the hands through which the first Overtures for that Treaty passed, or by whose Interest and Interposition the Court of *Spain*, and especially the Queen was engaged to accept of the Plan that the Cardinal thought fit to lay down, though altogether inconsistent with the original Engagements between the Courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid* I say, I shall pass by all this, because I do not care to enter deep into Matters of a nature not capable of publick Proof; but this is most certain, and the Cardinal has owned it under his Hand, that the Emperor's chief Motive to accept that Peace, which has since proved so fatal to his Family, was the Desire he had to give Peace to *Christendom*, and to afford an Opportunity of promoting the Catholic Cause by a closer Alliance between the

two

two Courts, which was to have followed that Treaty; and in regard to this, the principal Points were settled by that famous Negotiator, who was then so much in Favour in both Courts; but the Manner in which the Cardinal acted in respect to the succeeding Treaty between his Imperial Majesty and the *Ottoman* Port, together with some other Circumstances, so far opened the Emperor's Eyes, that he began to suspect the Cardinal's Intentions, and to be less inclined to enter into any new or closer Engagements with the Court of *Versailles*, as that Court has since frequently acknowledged, and given that Backwardness as a Reason for the small Regard that was afterwards shewn to its solemn Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction.

If it should be demanded where or when Cardinal *de Fleury* gave this under his Hand, I answer it was in his famous Letter to Marshal *Konigseg* during the Siege of *Prague*, which Marshal was the very Minister with whom he transacted at *Paris*, and to whom he gave the strongest Assurances of his being as much devoted to the Catholic Cause as the Emperor himself. Now to understand the Mystery of all this, and to discover

what the crafty Cardinal meant, we need only consider that this was the single Means by which he could ever hope to draw the House of *Austria* to depend on *France*, rather than on her old natural Allies the Maritime Powers; and thus this hypocritical Zeal for Religion, was put on to make the Imperial Court believe that the Protection and Promotion of the Catholic Interest, would really engage the Court of *France* to lay aside all her ambitious Designs, and to concur with the House of *Austria* with the greatest Cordiality. *France* held forth in the same Strain at *Rome* and *Madrid*, and all these Courts were given to understand that his Eminence would sacrifice every thing to his earnest Desire of promoting the Interest of the Church, for the Furtherance of which it was pretended that a Project had been formed for a general Alliance amongst all the Princes and States of the Catholic Communion. How far this was, or was not a mere Delusion, I shall not take upon me to determine; but thus much is certain, that as many subsequent Circumstances seem to prove it a Chimera, so there are others which would incline one  
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to think that there was really something in it at the bottom.

As a Proof of this, I must take Notice of the sudden Alteration of Cardinal *de Fleury* in his Conduct as to Men and Things. He had formerly shewn a very particular Dislike to the Abbé *Tencin*, and indeed not without Reason, for the Abbé never had any great Character either for Religion or Morals; and it would not have answered the Cardinal's End, while he pretended to more of these than perhaps any Minister ever had, to have countenanced a Man of so abandoned a Reputation. He carried this still further; and when that Ecclesiastic might many Years ago have obtained a Hat by the same Interest which procured it for him at last, he opposed it, and wrote to the Pope that he hoped his Holiness would not raise a Subject of *France* to the Purple, without the previous Consent of his Most Christian Majesty. This no doubt was then represented as a strong Proof of the Cardinal's Uprightness, and perhaps of his Respect to a neighbouring Power. But notwithstanding all this, Abbé *Tencin* still remained at the Court of *Rome* with a public Character. By Degrees the Cardinal abated of his Dislike

like to him, infomuch that at length he consented, in Reward for some Services that I have no occasion to mention, to his becoming Archbishop of *Embrun*. But now the Thing was carried much further, and he was permitted to receive the Hat, which had formerly been designed him through the Interest of the *Chevalier de St. George*; and the new made Cardinal was so far from making a Secret of this, that he acknowledged it in the most public Manner, and with the highest Professions of the most respectful Gratitude. This was certainly singular enough, and not at all of a piece with the Conduct which the Court of *France* had observed for many Years before, and therefore all the World took notice of it, as appeared by Reflections made upon it in the publick Gazettes.

It may indeed be said that this Behaviour of Cardinal *Tencin* had not a direct Reference to the Court, and that no great Stress ought to be laid on the Compliments made by a Priest upon such an Occasion, especially when it is considered to whom they were made, and that in all Probability these fine Promises were all the Returns the new made Cardinal ever intended. Now in answer to this

I might say, that he was even at this Time talked of for a kind of Coadjutor to Cardinal *de Fleury*, and therefore ought in a Matter of this Nature to have acted with the greatest Circumspection, the Omission of which should therefore lay him open to the stronger Suspicion. This I observe might be said, and I think would be very satisfactory, but the Matter went further still, the new Cardinal was not satisfied with personal Expressions of Thankfulness to his Benefactor, or with letting all the World know who that Benefactor was, and how much he thought himself obliged to him, but he must needs take a still stronger and more extraordinary Step, which was to testify all this, and that in the most public Manner, to the King his Master, which he did in the following Compliment, on receiving the Hat from the Hands of his Most Christian Majesty on the 4th of *March* 1739.

SIRE,

**F**OR the Cardinal's Hat I stand indebted to a great Prince who has sacrificed his All for the Sake of Religion. I am now going to receive the Ensigns of that Dignity from the Hands of your Majesty, who likewise do all for the Sake  
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*of Religion. I am fully sensible of all the Engagements I lie under, and nothing shall ever prevent my Endeavours to fulfill them.*

I shall make no Commentaries, I shall add no Reflections upon this singular Compliment, for the Meaning of it is so plain, and the Language in which it is dressed so expressive, that it certainly needs none; for that it implies that his Most Christian Majesty affects to be thought Head of the Catholic Cause, stares one in the Face; though what is to follow from his being at the Head of that Cause, or what the Views were of such a pompous Declaration of his Headship, I cannot pretend to guess. One Thing is most certain, that whatever they were, they must be extremely prejudicial to our Interest, and this for two Reasons.

First, because the *French King*, by such a Profession, necessarily unites to himself the Court of *Rome*, and at least all the zealous Princes of the Catholic Communion; which, as most Popish Princes are now under the Direction of Jesuits, there are very few that do not fall under this Denomination. The Effects of this Train of Policy, have been strongly felt  
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in the present War, wherein the Pope and other Powers have, from Motives of Religion, or rather of religious Interests, dealt underhand in favour of a Cause which otherwise their temporal Concerns must have led them to oppose, which has been an Advantage to *France*, and a Disadvantage to the common Cause of the Queen of *Hungary* and her Allies.

Secondly, this Pretence of Religion hath another Effect, it keeps always a Door open for a Reconciliation with those Potentates of the same Communion who are at present on our Side; nor will the Pope be ever wanting in his Endeavours to make this operate effectually, as appears by his Exhortations to the Emperor and the Queen of *Hungary*, in order to keep the one fixed to the Interest upon which he depends, and to shake the Constancy of the other. But the principal Use that would be made of his Most Christian Majesty's Zeal for the Catholic Cause, must be in case his Design should not succeed; for then it is natural to believe he will endeavour to cover all his political Views with this Pretence, from which his Holiness will borrow Arguments to soften the Resentments of those who might other-

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wife be tempted to repay the Injuries they have received from *France*, and that with Interest. I do not pretend to be so great a Politician, as to be able to point out minutely, or even particularly the Grounds of *French* Policy, but I hope what has been said will render it sufficiently clear, that a Desire of passing for the Defender of the Catholic Cause, is one Point of the *French* King's Ambition; and if this be done, then the first Part of my Charge is made good; for while the Politics of *France* are governed by this Maxim, they must be directly repugnant to ours, and in such a Case we can owe our Safety to nothing but a constant, steady, and vigorous Opposition.

The Cardinal *de Tencin* was the Person upon whom old *Fleury* cast his Eye for his Successor. He had before given this Court room to suspect that Sincerity of which he boasted so much, by the removing M. *de Morville* from being Secretary of State, who was both a Man of Honour, and an able Minister, to make way for M. *de Chauvelin*, who was neither, but of a restless, busy, intriguing Temper, capable of pursuing Schemes if he would have been directed, but from a peculiar Haughtiness in his Disposition, prone to assume the Direction



rection even of those whom it was his Duty to obey. The Cardinal, who was at first extremely pleased with him, as believing that he had now found an Instrument fit for the Execution of the great Scheme he had formed, soon grew prejudiced against him, when he discerned, that he was exactly such a Man as I have described him. His Intercourse with the Queen of *Spain* was soon revealed to the Cardinal, whose Cunning made him excessively suspicious, and whose Complaisance for the Ladies secured him Intelligence from all Quarters. In short, there was a Woman of Quality at *Paris* who held a Correspondence with another Lady at *Madrid*, from whom she received Accounts of whatever pass'd in the Queen of *Spain's* Bed Chamber, and communicated them to the Cardinal, who was wise enough to make use of the Lights she gave him, without discovering to her they were of any great Importance. The Cardinal began with ruining *Chauvelin's* Credit at the Court of *Madrid*; and when he had done that, he insisted, before he would be reconciled to her Catholic Majesty, that such Papers should be put into his Power as might for ever destroy *Chauvelin* at home, and having thus removed

him out of the Way, he thought of replacing him by some other Creature of as great Capacity, but more docil; and this brought him to make choice of *Tencin*, who was never known to complain of the Dirtiness of a Road by which he might be led to Preferment.

The Prospect of *Tencin's* rising so high, alarmed a great part of the *French* Court. There had been two Parties formed there against the Cardinal, and both these concurred in opposing *Tencin*. The most bitter and scurrilous Lampoons were thrown out against him, all his ecclesiastical Intrigues, all his Amours were dress'd out in the most glaring Colours, and, as is common enough in such Cases, the Monster was made so over-horrid, that the very Strength of the Evidence overturned the Credibility of it. Besides, in one great point his Enemies failed, they endeavour'd to set up *Chauvelin* as a Competitor against him, and insinuated to the King that he had been imposed upon with regard to that Man's Conduct; his Majesty however knew better, and finding them wrong in this, would not believe them right in any thing else. On the other hand, Cardinal *Tencin* behaved with great Moderation, and instead of shewing an

an Aversion to *Chauvelin*, spoke of him decently, and even in Terms of Respect; and thus the Edge of Resentment was blunted, and after this Storm of Reproach was over, the new Cardinal began to gain almost as great Credit as even the old one had possessed.

This succinct and plain History of the Politics of *France*, is sufficient to demonstrate, that however she may seem to deviate from the ordinary Road, she in reality adheres steadily to her old Maxims, that is, she pursues her Design of being at the Head of the Catholic Interest, preserving an Influence over most of the Courts of *Europe*, and giving all the Encouragement to Trade that the Nature of so arbitrary a Government will permit. It is said that the famous *Antonio Perez*, who was Secretary of State to the wise *Philip II.* of *Spain*, gave King *Henry the Fourth* of *France*, in three Words, the Clue to universal Empire, the Words were, *Confio, Palago, Roma*; that is, Council, the Sea, Rome, which are exactly the Maxims I have laid down, though in another Order. For by the first, *Perez* meant a regular System of Policy in Opposition to Expedients; by the second, he recommended the Care of Commerce and the Marine,



Marine ; and by the third, a close Conjunction with the Court of *Rome*, which is equivalent to being at the Head of the Catholic Cause ; the Consequence of which was better known to *Perez* than to most other Ministers, since it was chiefly by adhering to this Maxim, that his old Master King *Philip*, with far less Force, was far more formidable than his Father *Charles V.* I am not fond of Digressions, but I think this will contribute so much to the Illustration of my Subject, that the Reader cannot be either displeased at the short Turn I have made out of my Road, or repine at the Trouble I have given him to follow me. For the future, however, I will stick close to the Point, and endeavour to apply what I have been saying to the present State of Affairs, and to the Conduct of *France* at this Juncture, which I conceive will be doing an acceptable Service to my Country, by obliged all, who are not bent to keep their Eyes shut, to see Things in the Light in which they ought to stand, and without this it is evident they can never form any right Judgment about them.

The new Cardinal, with respect to his ministerial Abilities, is certainly much superior to the old one. *Fleury* was no  
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great Scholar, no profound Divine, and as to his Knowledge in Politics, he pick'd it up by Degrees, and knew it rather by Rote than by Practice. *Tencin*, on the contrary, is a Man of Parts, skilled enough in every Thing not to appear ignorant, or to be imposed on, though not so well read as to affect the Man of Learning, and thereby hazard being taken for a Pedant; and his regular Education in the most refined School of Politics at *Rome*, has given him such a Compass of useful Knowledge as to the Interests, Measures, and present State of at least all the Catholic Powers, as thoroughly qualifies him for his Ministry. *Fleury*, by a long Habit of Cunning and Dissembling, had acquired what to Appearance seemed Probity and Moderation. *Tencin*, without pretending to these, has an easy, insinuating Address, a Warmth upon certain Occasions, that looks extremely like Sincerity, and a Calmness and Discretion, at other Times, which enables him to disguise his own Sentiments, and to discover other People's. In few Words, *Fleury* was a formal, *Tencin* is an active Politician; the one heard, saw, and acted by other People, whereas the other Minister hears, sees, and acts for himself.

In this only lay *Fleury's* Felicity, that he always preferred Safety to Applause, whereas *Tencin* is a Man of an enterprising Genius, and will hazard all Things to carry the Points he has in View. In some Cases, therefore, it might be right, at least not wrong, to temporize with *Fleury*, but it would be dangerous to trust *Tencin* for a Moment, because he is capable of taking any Advantage, and supposes that Success in his Schemes is sufficient to secure his Reputation as a Minister, by whatever Method that Success may be obtained.

We are to consider that *Fleury's* System was in many Places cracked, in some broke to-pieces, before *Tencin* came to have a Share in the Administration, and that it is certainly much more difficult to piece together such a shatter'd System, than to contrive and execute a new one; and yet particular Circumstances made this absolutely necessary for *Tencin* to do. His first Care was to secure the Emperor, for he very well knew that while he remained firm to the *French* Interest, the Strength of *Germany* could never be brought to bear against *France*. His next Concern was to frame such a Project as might unite  
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the Emperor and *Spain* in a close Conjunction of Councils with *France*, and at the same time procure underhand Supplies from other Catholic States. This Project was first brought upon the Carpet at *Rome*, and having there received the Sanction of those great Politicians, who have long, though in secret, had a large Share in directing the Affairs of *Europe*, it was next reduced into the Form of a Treaty, which will be known to all the World, whenever we can see that published, which was the Motive to Count *Montijo's* sudden Journey from *Francfort* to *Paris*, and from thence to *Madrid*. It is confessed that a Treaty occasioned all this Hurry, and that the Conde *Montijo* concurred in negotiating it with full Powers from the Emperor, *Spain* having another Minister at the *French* Court: This shewed there was something mysterious in the Business, something more than related to the Wars that were already broke out; and this mysterious Treaty was immediately followed by a seeming Tranquility at the Court of *Ver-sailles*, while there was great Caballing at *Rome* and *Madrid*, in order to remove, as we may reasonably suppose, the Scene of Council as far as possible from the

Seat of Action, in order to preserve it from the Possibility of Discovery, but by way of Conjecture.

I have often wondered at the Contempt with which some Ministers have affected to treat this Method of coming at Truth by Conjecture. It is on the one hand certain, that wise Statesmen labour as far as possible to conceal their Designs, either by concerting them with Secrecy, or giving a different Turn to the Public, to the Councils in which they are settled. But as Negotiations require frequent Conferences, and frequent Conferences produce repeated Expresses, it is simply impossible that Designs of great Importance should ever be carried into Execution, especially by allied Powers, without some previous Indications. I grant that every Pretender to Politics may not be able to discover much by Conjecture; but that makes nothing against the Art. The famous Earl of *Clarendon*, a wise Man and a great Minister, affected to treat the Art of decyphering with Contempt; and there is a Discourse of his in Being, in which he declares his Persuasion that a Letter of his, which had been intercepted, could not be decyphered: But after the Restoration, the learned Dr. *Wallis* convinced

vinced his Lordship of his Mistake, by sending him a true Copy of his Letter; and then the Minister was satisfied that decyphering was an Art and not a Delusion. One may say the same thing with respect to Conjectures. If a Man is well versed in the Interests and Designs of the several Powers of *Europe*, and has at the same Time a competent Knowledge of the Temper and Disposition of Princes, the true Characters of their Ministers, and the real Force of their Dominions, he will, without any other Intelligence than what is derived from common News-Papers, be able to form a better Judgment than can result, independent of Conjecture, from the Letters of Spies and such other Engines of secret Service. For there is a political Algebra, in which, by the Help of natural Sagacity, and acquired Experience, a Man, from a very few *Data*, will be enabled to invest almost any Problem.

But to return.—The Mystery at *Rome* was not so privately carried on, as not to administer Grounds of Suspicion, especially when compared with the corresponding Hurry at the Court of *Madrid*. The equipping of a Squadron at *Brest*, was an incontestable Proof that *France*



had something more in View than transporting an Army to *Italy*; for otherwise in a Time of Peace, as this was with respect to us, she might have sent the whole *Brest* Squadron by one or two Ships at a time into the *Mediterranean*, and so have brought out her whole Naval Strength from *Toulon* at once; and her taking a contrary Method, seem'd to argue a contrary Design. At present I shall not pursue this Matter further, because my sole Intention is to prove that *France* acts systematically, and that our Destruction, if it be not the End, will at least prove one of the Consequences of her bringing her System to bear. For in the first place, if by any Method whatever, she can unite the Catholic Interest, and place herself at its Head, she will be too strong for the Protestants, and consequently too strong for us, who are or ought to be at their Head. Now that this is an invariable Part of her Scheme, appears from the Treaty I before mentioned with the late Emperor, and from Cardinal *Fleury's* Letter to Marshal *Königsberg* about that Treaty, which shew that his Eminency was not without Hopes of compassing his End by Negotiation. But it appears much more  
stronger

stronger by the Measures into which he afterwards fell, and which have been so steadily pursued by his Successor. I say that Cardinal *Fleury* fell into these, because he suffered *Tencin* to make, and his Master to receive such a Compliment upon his Advancement. And that *Tencin* has pursued this new Project, is, I think, by this time evident to the whole World; so that in War or in Peace, the pushing the Catholic Interest, and which is the same thing in other Words, exalting the Power of *France* as the Head of the Catholic Cause, is clearly the first Principle of *Gallic* Policy.

The next Maxim I pretend to illustrate is, the establishing an Influence in all Parts of *Europe*, in which for a while *Fleury*, from an unaccountable Chain of Accidents, succeeded as well or better than any *French* Minister since *Richlieu*; but either for want of proper Lights, or his making a false Judgment of Things at such a Distance, he embroiled the North, to very little Purpose, at a vast Expence, and with no Reputation to the *French* Councils. *Tencin*, with much greater Capacity, has chosen the Road of Negotiation in that Part of the World; and though he has procured vast Ap-  
pointments

pointments for the Marquis *de la Cbetardie*, yet these are nothing in Comparison of what the *Swedish* War cost. It is not very probable that any new Alliance will be formed in those Parts, perhaps it was never designed; at least this is likely from the Noise that was made about *Cbetardie's* Ambassy before he set out; for it is a Rule with great Politicians to appear most earnest where they are least so, and to affect a great Coldness about Affairs they have most at heart. One Thing is certain, that *Cbetardie* is well qualified for the Business he is sent about; he has been regularly brought up in Business, and knows perfectly that Part of the World where he is now employed. He was not many Years ago Envoy at the Court of *Prussia*, and when he shewed infinite Satisfaction on receiving the usual Present of 2000 Crowns, which that Monarch bestows on Ministers of a certain Rank, I believe nobody at *Berlin* suspected that he would so soon receive such valuable Testimonies of Imperial Favour as he afterwards met with in *Russia*, where he has certainly established a great Reputation, and where he will always have a personal Interest that will sustain his public Character; though



though I dare say he will never bring about any of the mighty Things that were noised through the World on his setting out for *Petersburg*, and which have been since ecchoed to us from thence.

I have already observed, that every Court has its favourite Point, by a Complaisance for which, *France* generally promotes her Interest. In *Russia*, at present, the darling Scheme is the Support of the House of *Holstein*, about which, as I have never heard any thing very sensible said at Home, I think it will be very acceptable to assign the true Reason. Her present Imperial Majesty was raised to the Throne by a sudden Revolution, partly brought about by the Affection of the People for her Person, but more through the Hatred of the former Government; these, though proper Springs for bringing such a Change to pass, were not like to support a Government long, and therefore the *Czarina* very prudently had Recourse to other Expedients. She first sent for the Duke of *Holstein*, and declared him her Heir, to cut off all Doubts about the Succession, and then entered into a Scheme of realizing the Pretensions of that Family, that she might

might have always something to trust to. When she ascended the *Russian* Throne, she was in a manner the last of her Family, without Friends and without Allies, at least that could be depended upon: But whenever the Prince of *Sweden* shall ascend that Throne, and with him a Princess of *Prussia*, and another Prince of his House shall be in the quiet Possession of the Dutchy of *Courland*, one may, without pretending to Prophecy, foretel that there will be an End of the Troubles in *Russia*. It is therefore very natural for this *French* Minister to make his court to the *Czarina*, by contributing to the Establishment of the House of *Holstein*; and therefore I make no question that the Proposition of the *Prussian* Match came originally from that Quarter, and was in all Likelihood the main Business of the Marquis de la *Cbetardie* at the Court of *Stockholm*, to which he went in his Passage to *Petersburgh*.

Cardinal *Tencin* has also shewed himself a more consummate Politician than his Predecessor, by his Method of managing the Imperial Court; for as he saw clearly, that the direct Extension of *French* Influence in *Germany*, was a  
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Thing very difficult, if not absolutely impracticable; and that its indirect Influence through the Imperial Channel, was much more easy, and at the same time much more effectual, he very prudently has taken this Course, and by supplying the Emperor with half the Money that Cardinal *Fleury* wasted in supplying him with Troops, has put it in his Power to do more for himself and for *France*, than he could have done with a numerous *French* Army, even under his own Command: For we have seen, and seen it with Astonishment, that he has gained Credit in the Empire since the Loss of his Dominions, and that his Influence has risen even while he was losing Power. This can be owing to nothing, or at least to nothing so much, as his not being supported by the Arms of *France*. He is now pursuing another and a surer Method of recovering his Dominions by the Interposition of the Princes and States of *Germany*; and I should not be at all surprized, if *France* suffered him to make a separate Peace, with a Promise to revive and support his Pretensions on the *Austrian* Succession at a

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more favourable Juncture. Thus I have sufficiently laid open the Sources of *French* Influence, and the Channels through which they run; I once intended to have added another Instance from the Conduct of some of the *Dutch* Provinces, but for Reasons that are not difficult to guess; I think it better to be silent, since from what has been already said, it is clear, to a Degree of Demonstration, that if *France* pursues this Maxim with Success, she must soon render the Maritime Powers inconsiderable, and force them to confine all their Cares to the providing for their own Safety.

As to the third Point, her Attention to Naval Affairs. These it may be thought suffered in some measure through Cardinal *Fleury's* not having any great Insight into such Matters himself; but he trusted them to a Person every Way worthy of the Charge; by which short Description I am confident that every intelligent Reader must apprehend I mean *M. de Maurepas*, a Minister who is, in one word, a surprizing Genius, blessed with indefatigable Application: In this single Point he seems to have failed, *viz.* by  
giving

giving the World too great Notice of his Designs. The Encouragement bestowed by him upon all who have a Turn for this Kind of Science, has encouraged several Writers to deliver their Sentiments very freely on the Methods of raising, extending, and supporting the Commerce of *France*, which, as I shewed before, cannot be done but at the Expence of ours. I cannot suppose that *M. de Maurepas* intended that those Pieces should be made public, or so public at least as they have been made. This I rather incline to attribute to the Vanity of their Authors; for who ever knew a Man that had Wit enough to write a good Book with so much Wisdom as not to let it be known? But what has proved injurious to him, may be certainly serviceable to us. We may see from these Books, some of which are translated into our own Language, what the Opinions are which prevail at present among the *French*; Opinions that are not of a Nature to circulate long without producing Effects. When the Value and Advantages of Trade are once known, they are quickly pursued. We already see that there are People as

well acquainted with the Theory of Trade as ourselves; we have therefore all the Reason in the World to be apprehensive of the Progress they may make when once they come assiduously to apply themselves to Practice; and it will be happy for us, if we make these Reflections in time.

The sudden and vigorous Effort made under the present Administration in *France*, by their equipping so considerable a Naval Force, ought to teach us, whatever the Success may be, that there is nothing can contribute so much to our Safety, as maintaining, by a high Hand, that Superiority which we naturally enjoy as a Maritime Power; I mean from our being so seated and circumstanced, as to derive from Nature those Commodities that nothing but Art and even Force can bestow upon the *French*. There was a Time when, through the Wisdom of her Prince, and the Indolence of ours, when from Jealousies chiefly infused by the *French*, the Maritime Powers strove to weaken each other; and when through a long Peace *France* was in the full Perfection of her Strength, she set up for a Maritime Power.

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The Project appeared prodigious to all, by many it was thought romantic ; but by the Application of *Lewis XIV.* and particularly by the Encouragement he gave his Officers, it was soon brought to such a Degree of Perfection, that one of the Maritime Powers was beaten at Sea, and one of her best Admirals killed; and in the Course of a few Years, and by the Help of another Peace, *France* was able to put a Fleet to Sea that worsted both the Maritime Powers off *Beachy-Head*. It is true that at *La Hogue* these Injuries were revenged; but though the *French* lost their Ships there, yet their Commander *Tourville* behaved so well, that his Master made him Marshal of *France*. We have seen since that Time the *French* Naval Force continually dwindling, we now see an Attempt made to revive it; I will not say that our Honour, our Interest, and our Welfare demands, but I will speak the fair Truth, that we cannot be safe unless we humble her as effectually as we formerly did *Spain*. Things are now at a Crisis, and if we lose Time, we lose all.

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If these Representations have any Weight, as I think they ought to have, since I am satisfied they are founded in Truth, the Consequence must be, that from a Principle of Self-Preservation we must resolve on a steady and constant Opposition to the Designs of *France*. In order to this it is requisite, indispensibly requisite, that we should take the same Pains in the Maintenance of the Protestant, that she does in Support of the Popish Interest; which can never be done but by living in a close Correspondence, and strict Union, with all the Powers of the same Faith. This will always secure us able and ready Friends upon every Occasion, and almost in every Corner of *Europe*. It will revive that Spirit which was visible in the beginning of the last Century, and enable us to frustrate all the Arts, and to combat all the Force of *France* and her Allies. It is a good Cause, and can never fail if we shew a Zeal that is worthy of it. We are at present in so much a better Capacity to do this than we formerly were, from the Harmony that subsists at home with respect to religious Opinions. That  
Popish

Popish Spirit, that once infected our Protestant Church, influencing an unreasonable and unchristian persecuting of Dissenters, is now in a great Measure evaporated, and may with due Care be entirely extinguished. The established Church is in Possession of as much Power as is requisite for her Safety, and the Dissenters of all Denominations enjoy as much Liberty as is consistent with our civil and religious Constitution. There seems therefore to be nothing wanting but a settled and well-founded Concern for a Matter of so great Importance to bring about this desirable End; which when once it is brought about, will afford us a Means of bringing about many others, inasmuch as it must necessarily raise a like Spirit in all other Protestant States, and induce them to lay aside all Respect for meaner Things, in comparison of a Point of such general Utility.

In the next Place we are to consider, that though the Pursuit of the former Maxim may not put us immediately upon a Level with our Enemy, yet it so happens, that the temporal Interests of some Catholic Powers being almost

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as incompatible as ours with those of *France*, we can never want, if we exert ourselves as we ought to do, and shew a reasonable Concern for the Welfare of our Neighbours, such a Concurrence from them, as must make us not only equal, but superior to this ambitious Crown, notwithstanding the Strength she derives from her arbitrary Power at home, and the Effects of her Intrigues abroad. As in our religious, so in our political Concerns, we have certainly the better Cause; for whereas she seeks to depress and enslave, we labour only to preserve and protect our Neighbours. It is not our Interest to desire, and therefore we can never be suspected of a Design to encroach either upon their Rights, or upon their Dominions. Foreign Possessions are a Burthen to us, those always excepted that are a Bridle upon our hereditary and inveterate Enemies. We pursue our own Advantage most, when we contribute most to the maintaining the Liberty and Independency of other Powers; and the Sense of this, while we continue to act upon so generous a Maxim, will always render them the natural Guaranties of ours.

Besides,

Besides, we can always afford our Allies quicker and more effectual Succours than the *French*; we do it with greater Spirit, and we exact nothing for it but a grateful Remembrance of the Frankness with which we did it. These Things considered, if we are true to ourselves, we must be always true to our Allies; and in Return we have no Reason to doubt, because it will be continually their own Interest that we shall find them true and hearty to us.

The last, but not the least Point that I have to recommend, is the Care of our Commerce; and not the Care, but the Use of our Naval Force. We have already a Navy sufficient to do all that ever was done by a Naval Power; and we have Seamen as able to contrive, and as ready to execute, as ever were *Howard*, *Blake*, or *Monk*. Let it then be our Business to improve the Gifts of Providence, and extend the Advantages derived from the Excellency of our Constitution: Let us be tender of our People, attentive to our Manufactures, kind to our Seamen, heedful of our Colonies, and charitable to industrious Strangers: Let us earnestly cultivate the known Branches of Trade, be ready to revive the old, and industri-

ous to strike out new: Let us willingly submit to the heaviest Taxes at home, rather than load our Plantations, from whence we draw the greatest Part of that Wealth which enables us to pay them: Let us imitate the Frugality of the *Dutch*, the Oeconomy of the *French*, (for it is lawful to learn from Enemies) and let us be beforehand in extending our Navigation with all other Nations. But, above all, let us be attentive to the Encrease of the *French* Trade, and the Growth of their Naval Power; let us prevent the former, by going cheaper to Market; let us put a Stop to the other now, when it may be stopped with Ease, when there is nothing wanting but the Word of Command, to secure to us that Dominion which Nature designed us, *The Empire of the Sea*. This the *French* say is our constant Aim, let it be for once our Endeavour to prove that the *French* have spoken Truth; let us pursue these Maxims, let us oppose our old Enemies, assist our Allies against them, and secure both them and ourselves. Let us, I say, resolve to do this, and *France* will soon be circumscribed, *Britain* enjoy Peace, and all *Europe* will be free.

F I N I S.



